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The Jewish Quarterly Review.

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NOTES ON THE MS. SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN SPAIN.

IN the autumn of 1888 I was entrusted by Mr. F. D. Mocatta with a mission to proceed to Spain in order to ascertain the extent and quality of the manuscript materials relating to the History of the Jews of that country. As the time at my disposal was not long, it did not enter into my plan of campaign to transcribe all or many of the documents I should chance to hit upon ; I desired rather to bring back with me a list of the documents that existed, so far as this could be ascertained from the manuscript catalogues of the various archivists who kept charge of the documents themselves. By keeping rigidly to this self-denying ordinance, I was able to bring back with me a list of some 2,500 documents relating to the History of the Jews in Spain, and have printed a rough calendar of some 1,800 of them with their library press marks attached, so that anyone interested in the subject could, with little trouble, have any of the documents copied on the spot. I propose here drawing attention to the more interesting of these, treating of the various archives in the alphabetical order of their geographical position, and attaching in brackets the number of the item in my calendar.

ALCALÁ DE HENARES.

It was not in my original plan intended to collect materials about the History of the Inquisition in Spain, or even with regard to that portion of it which related more strictly to Jews. But on paying a visit to Alcalá de Henares I found the only documents among those housed in the magnificent palace of Cardinal Ximenes in that city which had reference to Jews, dealt with the Inquisition. As the railway arrangements of Spain obliged me to stay several hours in the town before a return train could be taken, I selected from the descriptive slips of the Inquisition papers a number of items of Jewish interest.

There are two sets of *Legajos*, or packets relating to the Inquisition at Alcalá, bearing upon the trials of those who are accused of "Judaism." Sixty packets (Leg. 130-189) contain some 806 trials on this charge held before the Inquisition of Toledo, while thirteen other packets (Leg. 34-46) treat of 280 similar trials at Valencia. Some 900 descriptive slips give the names and particulars of the Toledo cases¹; those of Valencia have not yet been calendared. From the former I selected specimen cases illustrating various aspects of the Inquisition's work, or interesting for other reasons. Thus, it was curious to find an Indian slave of Don Diego Alvarez de Coto accused of Judaism (38). Again, in several instances, the unfortunate victims were subjected to the tender mercies of the Holy Office several times (6, 35, 45, 46, 58, 61), in one case, that of Isabel Nunez (45), no less than six times. In other cases, proof of the accused having been subjected to torture caused me to select it for description (2, 61). The tender age of Inez Gonzalez and Isabel Ortolan (30, 31), each ten years of age, caused me to include them in the list. Some cases included those of mem-

¹ From these Don Fidel Fita selected the items relating to the fifteenth century in the *Boletín* for 1889.

bers of religious orders, as the Licentiate Don Miguel Doliz (18), and Friar Juan (37). In one case (52) the trial was interesting, as there was attached to it evidence that an appeal was lodged against it 150 years after it had been decided. This was doubtless in order to settle the heraldic pretensions of the descendants of the accused to "purity of blood" (*limpieza de sangre*). In the seventeenth century it became quite usual to have trials before the Inquisition for this purpose, and we shall see when we come to Simancas that large materials exist for ascertaining the truth of the statement often brought forward that a large portion of the nobility of Spain have Jewish blood in their veins. In several instances at Alcalá a genealogy was attached to the trial in order to prove Jewish descent, and whenever this was mentioned in the descriptive slip, I included this in my selection as likely to be of use to those who have, like my friend, Mr. Lucien Wolf, been studying the genealogy of Jewish families. Such tables of descent are, *e.g.*, attached to Nos. 2, 14, 16. In the same interest it was useful to give the many aliases contained in the lists. Nos. 6, 29, 39, 47, 56, were prominent examples; above all, it was interesting to find in these lists so many names which lend a lustre to the early annals of the Sephardic Jews in this country, *e.g.*, Brandon (9), Caceres (10), Diaz-Mendez-Brito (15), Pereira Enriquez (19), Espinosa (21), Fonseca (23), Garcia (24-26), Andrade (35), Machado (36), Matos (40), Mendez (41-43), Rodrigues de Seseña (52), Sosa (60, 61), Cohen Villareal (63). There is obviously here ample materials for one of the great *desiderata* of Jewish literature, an adequate history of the Marranos or secret Jews of the Peninsula. I know of no subject more fascinating, more full of romantic episodes and interesting sidelights on international history.

One set of papers, contained in packet 189 and numbered 889, was of peculiar interest in this connection; this contained some twenty lists of various persons examined

before the Inquisition at Cordova, Granada, Murcia, Seville, Saragossa, and other places ; and it would be highly desirable that the whole of these lists, numbering some 1,500 names, should be copied out and published. One of them (67) was of peculiar interest, as it contained a reference to the wide spread commercial transactions of the Gradis family, the Rothschilds of the seventeenth century.¹ This "Memoria" even gives some pages from the ledger of the Gradis. Other papers (86-91) give evidence of the terrible power that might reside in a single person's hands, referring to several hundred persons who are suspected on the testimony of Amanda Pimentel and her sister.

In the case of the Valencia denunciations, as there were no descriptive slips, I had to have out three of the packets of cases and go through them. This brought out one curious result, since one case, the process of Galavandrez Adret (94), probably a descendant of Solomon Ben Adret, filled a whole manuscript volume, which was bound together by a strip of parchment from a scroll of the Law. Indeed, most of the processes seem to extend to a volume, and it was the custom, at Valencia at any rate, to decorate volumes with serrated flames like those which covered the robe of a San Benito (98). One of these trials, that of Bonorsi Brionda is a "cause célèbre"; similarly in the Toledo cases, one packet is devoted to the celebrated case of El Cristo de la Paciencia (13). It was noteworthy how wide was the field of employment among these victims of religious intolerance. In many cases the occupation of the accused was mentioned, and I noticed carpenters, tailors, jewellers, apothecaries, silk merchants, hatters, tobacco merchants, and parchment sellers, among those given.

It is obvious that there are sufficient materials at Acalá alone to occupy one man's lifetime in the study of the transactions of the Inquisition ; no less than 1,200 cases

¹ See Graetz, "Die Familie Gradis" in *Monatssch. Neue Folge*, vii. and viii.

exist here with full details and testimonies and witnesses on the conduct of the Jews; a mass of information could be here obtained as to the traces left of the Hebrew nation, as it is so often called, after the more steadfast portion of it had been driven forth from Spanish soil.¹

BARCELONA.

Few European States can possess such a magnificent set of archives as those of Aragon, now lodged in one of the former palaces of the kings of Aragon in Barcelona. Here every deed that issued from the Royal Chancery from 957 up to the consolidation of the Spanish Monarchy in 1492 exists in a copy made in one of the seven thousand "Registros" dealing with that period. These form practically a huge copy letter book, in which all the kings' correspondence is given in full. I reckon that there could not be much less than twenty thousand State papers referring to the Jews of Aragon contained in this collection; but the full number could only be ascertained by going through page for page each of the Registros, a work which will occupy a trained observer at least ten years of his life. To copy them all might easily fill up the lifetimes of five enthusiasts. In the scant time at my disposal in the former Capital of Aragon I could merely extract from the indices of the Registros those items which were stated to refer to Jews. Now these indices have been drawn up with various degrees of thoroughness, becoming more and more scanty as time goes on; for the first forty Registros, dealing with the twenty years, 1257-76, they are very full of abstracts of the contents of almost each page. Then from Registros 200 to 860—that is, from 1290 to 1340—the entries become very much more scanty, while for the remaining 150 years of the stay of the Jews in Aragon, there exists only

¹ The latest and most elaborate History of the Inquisition, that of F. C. Lea (New York, 1889, 3 Vols.), does not even touch upon the trials for "Judaism," though Mr. Lea repairs the omission in a later work.

an alphabetical index which gives but little clue to the contents of the entries indexed. For I feel sure that thousands and thousands of documents are not indexed at all for that part of Aragonese annals. I have, therefore, only been able to give few references, selected almost at hazard from the Rubric "Judios" in this last index. But for the earlier period, 1257-1340, I have a detailed account of some eleven hundred documents containing a skeleton history of the Jews of Aragon during those eighty years. Skeleton is the proper word to employ in such a case, for it is but seldom the dry bones of history, as viewed by the civil servants of the king, can be clothed with the flesh and blood of humanity.

A large proportion of these documents relate to the fiscal contributions of the Jews of the crown of Aragon. As in the rest of Europe, Aragonese Jews constituted indirect tax-gatherers for their king, for whom they held their wealth in trust. By the aid of the documents which I have roughly calendared, it will be an easy task for the future student of Spanish annals, who will be fortunate enough to visit Barcelona, to determine the exact proportion of the king's wealth which was sweated out of the Jewish usury.

I have myself copied and printed in an appendix several documents which give part of this information, especially one (App. VII.) which gives a sort of budget to the kingdom of Aragon for the year 1270.¹ From this it appears their direct contributions only amounted to some three per cent. of the whole revenue. But it would be impossible to accept this as a full statement of the case, as it leaves out of account the individual contributions of the richer Jews which flowed almost daily into the treasury.² Later

¹ The late M. Loeb was especially interested in this class of inquiries, and I collected as much as I could on the details relating to the Jewish population of Aragon.

² Another entry (504) gives the Jewish direct contribution at the much higher figure of 8 per cent. in 1270.

on we shall see some evidence of the extent of this kind of tribute.

The deeds give a certain amount of information as to the occupations of the Jews of Aragon, though not so much as we should have desired. We hear of a broker (122), a dyer (128), a town clerk (258), horse dealers (260), money changers (264), moneyers (163, 361), sheep farmers (525), ship owners (466).

A Court doctor is mentioned in Nos. 400 and 1080, while on one occasion a Jewess is pardoned for prescribing medicines (1082).

A large number of deeds are merely formal in character, dealing mainly with the king's mercantile transactions with his Jewish subjects. The list given below contains sufficient indication of the character and extension of these deeds.¹

These deeds, like similar ones we shall have to note of Pamplona, are of the greatest possible importance in studying the mercantile development of Europe and the early history of European banking.

Very few of the deeds deal with criminal offences (234, 515, 550, 632), though a certain number are connected with cases of false evidence (234, 237, 434).

It is not often that the religious aspect of the Jewish question presents itself in these documents, though of course it really underlies the whole series. The chief entries of interest on this subject relate mainly to the

¹ Balance-sheet : 183, 329, 332, 338, 367, 368, 369, 370, 385, 390, 391, 465, 468, 469, 498, 513, 519, 520, 562, 564, 569, 574, 577, 579, 600, 617, 618, 621, 722. Debitorio : 130, 134, 144, 156, 158, 159, 167, *et pass.* Receipt : 164a, 208, 221, 224, 297, 326, 328, 340, 347, 348, 349, 356, 357, 363, 371, 372, 376, 378, 406, 415, 420, 434a, 453, 559. Confirmation : 516, 726, 727, 1716. Consigna : 350, 352, 354, 355, 359, 360, 367, 368, 380, 384, 373, 516, 623, 702. Donation : 267, 291, 294, 407, 422, 463, 471, 475, 512, 521, 526, 534, 711, 733, 607. Pledge : 266, 269, 272, 405, 447, 535, 548, 565, 713, 725. Promissory note : 580, 734, 738. Pensions : 400, 403, 407, 422, 444, 605, 651, 659, 1105.

preaching of the Friars to the Jews, or their disputations with them. The Jews do not appear to have been very willing hearers of sermons—at least, from Christian Friars—since it needed the services of the judges to cause them to attend either Franciscans (244) or Dominicans (247), while the Jews of Barcelona were ultimately freed from the infliction altogether (424, 426).

Full details are given of the celebrated disputation between Pablo Christiani and Moses Nachmanides. One and one only of these was known to Graetz from Boffarul (*Gesch.* VII., page 418).¹ But besides this deed there are several pardoning Nachmanides for his “blasphemies” during the disputation (289, 321, 323); while other deeds, in which he occurs under the name of “Astrugo Ravay,” show in what favour he was held by the king, who absolved him from all tribute for the rest of his life (319). Others show that he was possessed of considerable means (313, 314, 320, 322, 430, 490). I have given in an appendix to my book the deed in which the king pardons Nachmanides for his blasphemy on account of the favour in which his majesty held his brother, Benvenist de Porta.

It was doubtless in connection with this disputation that a general order was issued to the Jews not to disturb the preaching of Pablo Christiano. Orders were at the same time given that passages of blasphemous character were to be expunged from Jewish books (248, 278). It was on this account doubtless that the writings of Maimonides (“Moyses hijo de Maymon Egipnachus,” *sic*) were ordered to be burnt; it was stated that these works were entitled “Soffrim” (243). Somewhat later the Jews of Aragon got free from the Censorship by favour of the king, who ordered that their books need not be submitted to the Dominicans (325).

The above-mentioned Benveniste de Porta, brother of

¹ Since my visit Père Denifle has published others. See *Revue des Études Juives*, t. xv. p. 1 *seq.*

Nachmanides, was one of several Jews who figure largely in the transactions of the time. He was appointed bailiff in several towns of Aragon, and a large number of deeds exist connected with his transactions with the king. Of even greater importance was Jahudan de Cavalleria, who was bailiff of Barcelona itself for many years, and was undoubtedly the Rothschild of Aragon during his lifetime. Materials exist in my collections for determining the part played by this merchant prince in the consolidation of Aragon under James the Conqueror. A third name of almost equal importance is that of Astrugo Jacob Xixon.

One of the most interesting documents to which I obtained access was one relating to the family history of Don Chasdai Crescas, Jewish philosopher and controversialist. The late Dr. Joel has proved conclusively that Spinoza owed much that was peculiar and significant in his philosophy to the influence of Crescas' philosophical work, *Or Adonai* (Light of the Lord). Any detail relating to him must be regarded as of special interest, not alone to Jewish history, but in the general history of European speculation. It is by a mere chance that I fell upon the trail of the document. As I have before mentioned, the indexes to the later documents at Barcelona are very defective; so much so that I have not thought it worth while even to print the majority of the items I gleaned from these later indexes. They are arranged alphabetically, and I confined my attention to extracting the one item, "Judios"; but, after I had extracted this, I thought it would be worth while giving a cursory glance to the remaining letters of the alphabet, and I did not go unrewarded. Under the very first letter there is an entry relating to "Azday Cresques,"¹ which obviously related to the great philosopher. I have given it at length—and it is very lengthy—in the appendix to my calendar, and may

¹ In the *liste nominative* of 1392, this appears as Atzay Cresques.

summarise the effect of the long legal terminology in this place. It is a confirmation by John of Aragon, dated December 5th, 1393, of a privilege granted by his consort at Tortosa on the 15th of November of the same year. It appears from the document that Chasdai Crescas had been one of the executors of the will of his uncle Vitalis Azday, that owing to the disappearance of his co-trustees the estate of the deceased had got in bad order, and Crescas had, the document informs us, applied to the Queen for powers to administrate himself. These powers she grants, and her grant is confirmed by her royal consort. Crescas does not appear to be personally interested in his uncle's will, for the property seems to have been all left to the Jewish poor. It consisted of five tenements at Gerona, the locality and abuttals of each being given. These seem to have brought in a modest rental of £2. 4s. 6d. in all, though that sum would probably have to be multiplied by twenty to represent the corresponding value at the present day in Spain, and probably by twenty-five to give some idea of the amount of services and commodities which could be obtained for a similar sum in the contemporary England of to-day. It is obvious, from the terms of the deed and from the result of Crescas' petition, that he was in favour with both the King and Queen of Aragon. We shall see, when we come to Pamplona, that he enjoyed equal favour at the Court of Navarre.

A few miscellaneous items in the Calendar may be here referred to before summarising the general aspects of the deeds. When the Jews were expelled from France in 1306 permission was given to those of Aragon to receive their persecuted coreligionists (752, 756). It is curious to observe that the executioner's fees were in one case contributed to the protection of Jewish Schools. We find Jews acting as guides to Saracens, but the king had his account in this, and license had to be obtained from him

for that purpose (155). Certain articles of furniture were free from seizure for debt (152).

I will now proceed to sum up, somewhat in the form of a Code, various regulations for the Jews of Aragon which can be extracted from the Barcelona deeds. These of course could be largely supplemented from *fueros* and statutes which exist in print, and many of which are referred to simply as *Statutos de Judíos* in my collections.¹ To these have to be added two charters of privileges (149, 414). But statutes may be passed without being observed, whereas in the following list of enactments we have tolerably certain evidence that they were in actual operation.

BARCELONA.

CONSTITUTION.

(1.)—King could summon representatives from each Aljama to confer with him on communal matters, 500, 505, 1193.

(2.)—Jewish officers were nominated by the king, 279, 462, 768, 884, 990, 1066, 1061, 1219.

(3.)—Rabbis could be elected by the Aljama, 774, 1032.

(4.)—King could annul excommunication or interdict put upon the Jews by the ecclesiastical authorities, 586.

(5.)—King could remit charges brought by the Inquisition, 764, 873.

(6.)—Jews could elect their own notary, 599.

(7.)—Jewish notaries had special privileges, 779, 858, 867, 879, 1220.

(8.)—Town Council could elect Jew representatives to carry out Statutes of Jewry, 634.

(9.)—Safety of Jews was entrusted to bailiffs of towns, 417.

RESTRICTIONS.

(10.)—Licence was required to build a synagogue, 241, 788, 900.

(11.)—Synagogue services on days of festival were regulated by the king, 440.

¹ 195, 198, 210, 254, 255, 256, 261, 265, 271, 306, 310, 311, 316, 550, 587, 588, 720, 750, 765.

- (12.)—Licence was required to establish Jewish School, 315.
- (13.)—Beth Hamidrash could not be restored without permit of king, 1177.
- (14.)—Licence was required to purchase cemetery, 541, 791, 870, 930, 1039.
- (15.)—King's permission had to be obtained to erect baths, 386, 484, 511.
- (16.)—Permission had to be obtained to open gate and city walls, 482, 510.
- (17.)—Jews had special slaughterhouses, 794.
- (18.)—Licence was required to cover in a lane in front of houses, 604, 627, 882.
- (19.)—Regulations as to dress, 427.
- (20.)—Jews could be exempted from wearing badge, 771, 1080, 1088, 1147.
- (21.)—Jews were not permitted to sell on Christian festivals, 1165.
- (22.)—Licence required for selling meat to Christians, 426.
- (23.)—Jews permitted to sell meat with throat uncut, 1166.
- (24.)—Special permit required to bake Passover bread, 854.
- (25.)—Jews were allowed at times to bake bread in royal ovens, 452.
- (26.)—Permission had to be obtained to buy meat from the town butchers, 476.
- (27.)—Jews could not change place of residence without permission, 112, 334, 1038, 1104, 1126, 1142, 1201, 1208, 1209.
- (28.)—Limitation of Jewish Ghetto, 913, 979, 1022.
- (29.)—A Jew changing residence paid one shilling in the pound, 302.
- (30.)—Jews changing residence did not enjoy the rights of the local community without special concession, 270, 530, 736, 1089.
- (31.)—Jews had to obtain special permission and safeguard to live outside the Jewish quarter, 123.
- (32.)—Payment was required for general right of residence, 218, 235, 302, 421, 639, 751.
- (33.)—Jews had to have passports, 153, 164, 389, 405, 721.
- (34.)—General or individual safe-conducts to Jews were issued by the king, 566, 947, 972, 1049.
- (35.)—King could withdraw concession conferred on one Jew and transfer it to another, 638.
- (36.)—Sales and purchases had to be confirmed by the king, 177, 330, 459.
- (37.)—Jews could not rent out property, 1073.

- (38.)—Jews could not buy treasure-trove, 108, 200.
- (39.)—Jews had to register their possessions, 1036. This order could be withdrawn for special Aljamas, 1054, 1057.
- (40.)—Jews had to pay ferry dues, which, however, could be remitted, 447.
- (41.)—Guilds could prevent Jews from buying horses, 260.
- (42.)—Jews had to obtain licence to export wheat, 120, 126, 167a; and to buy it, 179, 180, 227; and to grow flax, 273, 276, 628, 735, 829, 830, 831.

PRIVILEGES.

- (43.)—Jews had not to contribute to benevolences for fueros, 148.
- (44.)—Jews freed from local taxation, 640, 661.
- (45.)—Jews were exempted from lodging the king, 184, 197, 263.
- (46.)—Jews could hold landed property, 176, 232, 238, 240, 459, 512, 581, 671, 772.
- (47.)—A Jew could hold castles and manors, 250, 338, 342, 385, 518, 615, 621, 664, 728.
- (48.)—Jews farmed salt-marshes, 171, 298, 336, 346, 351.
- (49.)—Jews could farm royal mills, 166, 173.
- (50.)—Rights of pasture could be farmed, 352.
- (51.)—The king could grant indemnity for buying property on payment of part, 109.
- (52.)—King could grant Jewish houses to his nobles, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722.
- (53.)—King granted nobles permission to have Jews on their fiefs, 845, 852, 863, 899, 922, 1003, 1027, 1028, 1046, 1095, 1118, 1144, 1702, 1703.
- (54.)—Jews could hold licences, 650, 734.
- (55.)—Jews could take interest from one another, 1023.
- (56.)—Jews could be bailiffs of towns, 130, 172, 201, 326a, 517, 538, 629, 668, 678, 701, 717, 730.
- (57.)—Town dues were often farmed to Jews, 114, 132, 143, 145, 171a, 202, 205, 252, 274, 298, 300, 339, 387, 389, 404, 571, 576, 606, 619, 620, 622, 625, 670, 737, 601.
- (58.)—Town dues could be sub-farmed, 275, 331, 619, 626.
- (59.)—Jews could buy Escheats of the crown, 572.
- (60.)—Office of bailiff could be sub-farmed, 142.
- (61.)—Town clerkship could be held by Jews, 258, 268, 745.

TAXATION OF JEWS.

- (62.)—Congregations could be grouped for purposes of payment, 169a, 419, 479, 1008.

(63.)—Taxation by Jewish representatives had to be confirmed by the king, 299.

(64.)—The distribution of the taxation among the various Aljamas was settled by the king in consultation with the representatives of each Aljama, 501, 502, 504, 533.

(65.)—Jews could elect representatives to tax themselves, 151, 281, 293.

(66.)—Jews could tax one another, but this tax had to be approved by the king, 113.

(67.)—Taxation of Jews was equal per head, 288.

(68.)—One Jew could pay another on behalf of the king, 220.

(69.)—A congregation could be ordered to pay to a Jew, 168a.

(70.)—Taxation of Jewry could be farmed by Jews, 249, 281, 293, 433.

(71.)—The Jewry could be farmed to a Jew, 337, 341.

(72.)—Nobody but royal officials could proceed against Jews for taxation, 762.

(73.)—Right of taxing Jews was part of the queen's dowry, 758.

(74.)—An Aljama could be farmed to the Knights Templars, 663; and other nobles, 724, 837.

(75.)—The king drew on Jews for money owed to him, 115, 129, 136, 137a, 170, 499, 509, 675, 676, 827.

(76.)—Taxation on Jews could be lowered, 170, 174, 186, 423, 436, 442, 524, 527, 561, 1070, 1099.

(77.)—Taxes on Jews could be remitted by the king, 160, 161, 166a, 186, 196, 213, 226, 227, 239, 296, 304, 358, 379, 397, 398, 399, 402, 411, 412, 416, 438, 467, 472, 456, 457, 495, 536, 539, 552, 555, 763, 773, 775, 767, 781, 799, 868, 931, 1004, 1005, 1040.

(78.)—The king could remit taxation of Jewry on account of their poverty, 116, 118, 1011, 1163.

(79.)—A Jew might be exempted from a tax levied on his congregation, 203.

(80.)—The king could grant general remission of claims to a congregation, 206, 543.

(81.)—Jews could be paid by a life-long interest in the customs, 140.

(82.)—Jews could be credited with debt owed by the king against tribute owed to him, 141, 162.

(83.)—Jews could pay debts to the king in kind, *e.g.*, sheep, 163a.

(84.)—A Jew could cede property to king in payment of a tax, 437.

(85.)—Jews could pay in anticipation of future taxation, 441, 596, 597.

(86.)—Jews contributed to war expenses, 677, 434a.

(87.)—Jews had to pay for the king's dinner, 507.

(88.)—Jews paid the king's journeys, 538.

(89.)—Jews contributed to war against Granada, 977, 980, 995, 996.

(90.)—Jews were required to provide royal bedding, 1041; or could be exempted from same, 1062, 1123.

JEWS AND DEBTORS.

(91.)—The amount of interest to be charged was subject to regulation, 147; in one case 4d. a pound (per week), 199, 306, 311, 316, 428, 750, 765, 770, 807, 840, 871.

(92.)—Deeds of indebtedness had to bear the cause of the debt, 449.

(93.)—Jewish debts were recoverable in the Courts, 154, 303, 308, 377, 662, 872.

(94.)—Jews could imprison for debt, 157, 251, 545.

(95.)—Goods sold to Christians by Jews could be distrained, 749.

(96.)—Special permit was required for compound interest to run on a debt, 207.

(97.)—The king could abolish indebtedness of his subjects to Jews, 117, 119, 125, 127, 193, 194.

(98.)—A prince was permitted to free the king's subjects from their debts to the Jews when they had removed from the kingdom, 146.

(99.)—Jews were not allowed to lend to University students, 1206.

(100.)—The king could grant an individual or inhabitant of the town a *moratoria* or period of delay, during which interest would not run on their debts to the Jews, 107, 110.

(101.)—The king could promise the Jews that he would not grant such a *moratoria*, 111, 121, 187, 120, 305, 443, 446, 544, 612, 783, 790, 792, 798, 801, 802, 828, 846, 921, 945, 987, 1000, 964, 965, 1031, 1050, 1103.

(102.)—*Moratoria* might be made invalid at the king's will, 181.

(103.)—*Moratoria* could be granted to a foreign Jew, 214, 217.

FAMILY.

(104.)—A Jew could pay for licence to marry a second wife, 148, 946, 1226, 1227.

(105.)—Jewess could not marry near relative without special permit, 1101.

(106.)—Wedding settlements of Jews were only legal when declared in presence of two witnesses before a public notary, 280.

(107.)—Marriage settlements of debtors' widows were to be valued in settling the debtor's estate, 451.

(108.)—Testamentary depositions required the king's confirmation, 233.

(109.)—Property inherited had to be confirmed, 195, 285, 286, 537, 540, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 652, 653, 654, 657, 658.

(110.)—King appointed guardians to heirs, 646, 1076.

(111.)—Heirs came of age at eighteen, 654.

(112.)—King settled alimony of heirs, 653.

(113.)—An heir could not marry before eighteen without consent of his mother, 655.

(114.)—A Jew required special permit to transmit farms to his heirs, 672.

(115.)—The inheritance went by primogeniture, 1713.

(116.)—Property of expelled Jews fell into the hands of the king, 1734.

CONVERTS.

(117.)—King granted special protection to converted Jews, 744.

(118.)—Baptised children were not allowed to live with their Jewish parents, 793.

(119.)—Converts were allowed to preach to and convert Jews, 1033.

(120.)—Converts were not allowed to change residence, 1724.

LEGAL.

(121.)—There was a special judge for the Jews, 128, 198, 237.

(122.)—Christian administrators were appointed for the Jews, 1007.

(123.)—Bailiff of town could hear Jewish cases, 895, 961.

(124.)—Slander cases between Jews could be decided upon by Jewish judges, 450.

(125.)—Jews could not assemble for judicial proceedings amongst themselves in other than their town of residence without special permit, 542.

(126.)—Jews could submit cases amongst themselves to arbitration by local judge, 556.

(127.)—Jews might be allowed to appear before the king's justices, 573.

(128.)—Jews could not be tried without king's writ, 1017, 1037.

(129.)—Law proceedings against Jews required a definite accuser, 432.

(130.)—Jews had to agree to appear to answer complaints, 461.

(131.)—Consultation by ecclesiastical authorities could be prevented by the king, 821.

- (132.)—Jews were sworn to keep the king's peace, 284.
- (133.)—No law proceedings on Jewish festivals, 746, 769.
- (134.)—Jews were freed from torture, 635, 1071.
- (135.)—Sworn evidence of Jewesses could be taken on commission in their own houses, 124.
- (136.)—There was a special form of oath for Jews, 210, 458, 523, 855.
- (137.)—Appeal was granted in murder cases, 529, 967.
- (138.)—Jews were freed from ordinary imprisonment, 748.
- (139.)—Jewish prisoners had to be separated from others, 1134.
- (140.)—Law proceedings against a Jew for criminal offences might be stopped, 204, 282, 283.
- (141.)—Punishment of a Jew might be remitted, 236, 292, 301, 317, 318, 413, 515, 584, 591, 593, 616, 609, 660, 712, 714, 715, 716, 719, 776, 838, 1045, 1074, 1081, 1167, 602, 603, 632.
- (142.)—Jews were sometimes pardoned for usury, 464, 470, 473, 631, 647, 648, 1125, 1143.

I should add that the original deeds known as "Pergaminos" run to no less than eighteen thousand numbers, and doubtless contain several of Jewish interest, but here, as elsewhere, I was dependent upon the indexes of the archives and was only successful in unearthing three "Shetaroth," which are among the earliest known to exist among this class of document. One of these (101) I transcribed, and have added in an appendix; it is a deed of sale of some land in the territory of Barria in the year 1092.¹

It is possible that I overlooked some better means of getting access to the contents of "Pergaminos," since I observe that Mr. E. D. Swift, in his recent monograph on James I., of Aragon (Clar. Press, 1894), refers to several Pergaminos as bearing upon the relations of the Jews of Aragon to James I. It is in this direction that I should recommend that further inquiry should be made to Barcelona with best hopes of supplementing my list.

Names.—The names of Jews mentioned in the Barcelona

¹ This is earlier than any other Shetar in existence except those noted by M. Loeb in "Revue des Etudes Juives." I have to thank Mr. Schechter for helping me to decipher my own notes of this Shetar.

records would deserve a study by themselves.¹ Here I can only give a few notes on points that struck me. It is at first sight somewhat difficult to recognise the familiar forms under their Spanish cloaks. Isaac hides himself under the disguise of Aach or Acaz; Ibn Shaprut becomes Abenxaprut (402); Chasdai becomes Azday or Hizde (562). The aspirated guttural is indeed a difficulty, being as often as not omitted altogether, while sometimes it is represented by the aspirated labial *f*. Thus Mordecai becomes Mardofay (497), and Abraham Abrafim. Some very familiar names in Jewish literature appear for the first time in a latinised form. Thus appears, as the late M. Loeb pointed out to me, Ibn Giat in my list (161) as Mosse Avengayet. Again, Jafre Abenzabarre (153) is probably a descendant of Joseph ibn Zabara the satirist, whose work has been so admirably described by Mr. Israel Abrahams. At times we get hints which may possibly throw light on the origin of well-known Jewish family names. It is not impossible, I should say, that Benvist Almocatel (269) preserves the original form of the family name Mocatta. So too, Abendanan (237), proves that the family of Abendanas are of the same stock as the Ibn Danans. Thus mainly from a consideration of the names beginning with Aben, a considerable amount of information may be gained as to Jewish names. One of these is peculiar as being obviously derived from the Spanish. There can be no doubt that Abraham Abenrodrich combines in his surname the Arabic Ibn with the Spanish, or rather Visigothic, Roderick.

Municipal Archives.—The town history of Barcelona is a long and distinguished one; in the history of Commerce its annals fill a large place, and the Code of Barcelona is the foundation of the Maritime Code of all nations. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find the muni-

¹ An admirable model for such an inquiry is afforded by the paper of the late M. Isidore Loeb on a *Liste nominative des juifs à Barcelone en 1392*, in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, t. iv.

cipal records of the city in a very complete state. The items of Jewish interests, however, to which I could obtain access were not very great in number. They were contained in an index of the various ordinances of the Town Council from 1290-1472, which gave a list of the Jewish ordinances passed between those dates. They number fourteen, and are of the usual mediæval kind. A dress of the Jews is required, partly for some peculiar reasons, but mainly in order to distinguish them from their Christian fellow-citizens, to prevent Christian women from acting as servants in Jewish houses, or Jews from walking abroad on days of Christian festivities. During the fatal year 1300 the town obtained the right to rid itself from all the Jews. Later on, in 1472, the Jews were allowed to reside in the city only fifteen days. All these entries are made in the archives in old Catalan, and are by no means easy to read. If I had had time to refer to the various ordinances themselves it is possible that other information might have been obtained. There are doubtless other deeds relating to our subject at the Cathedral Library of the city. The cathedral itself was undergoing repairs at the time of my visit, and the librarian had seized the opportunity to take a little holiday, I was therefore unable to have access to the cartularies and other documents.

Museo Provinciale.—At the local museum of antiquities the only items of Jewish interest were a number of tombstones containing sepulchral inscriptions. Four of these are complete, and have been studied by that indefatigable antiquary Don Fidel Fita. He has published them in the *Revista de Ciencias Historicas*, 254, seq. The remaining five are but fragments. All these were derived from the cemetery of the Jews, *Fossar dels Juheus*, near Montjuich (the Jew Mount), in the neighbourhood of Barcelona. There used to be a very great number of these in existence, but they were during the last century ruthlessly applied to the construction of the houses and public buildings in

Barcelona. It may be surmised that many of these may come once more to the light when these houses are reconstructed. It would be well that the local antiquaries of Barcelona should be alive to this possibility. From the list of Spanish Rabbis which I have collected it would seem that nearly a third of the Jewish talent of the Iberian peninsula have been buried at Montjuich; so that the tombstones taken thence are of exceptional importance and interest.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

It often happens that a man goes out searching for treasure and finds on his return that, after all, he has left the greatest treasure at home. Something like this has happened in the present instance. When on my return to England, I was curious enough to ascertain the documents existing in the British Museum which could throw light on the subject of my researches, I was by this means fortunate enough to come across a document (1240) which, taken altogether, is perhaps the most important single deed which I have unearthed. This, so far as I can ascertain, seems to be the original decree of expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom of the two Sicilies in 1504, for it has the original seal attached to it. How it came into the possession of the British Museum I have been unable to ascertain, as the volume of charters in which it is now bound seems to have been bought by auction, and its original *provenance* cannot now be discovered. The document, which I give in the appendix to my book, states, as the main reason for the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom of the two Sicilies, their perverse ingenuity in reconverting the new Christians to their old religion. Ferdinand had just come into possession of the kingdom of Naples, in the year 1504, in which this document is dated. As a matter of fact, the Jews were not actually finally expelled from Naples till 1540 (Graetz, ix. 316). The Great Captain, then Viceroy of Naples, resisted

successfully the introduction of the Inquisition into that kingdom, and it may have been his influence which prevented the carrying out of the fateful decree. It was possibly also the influence of Samuel Abrabanel, afterwards finance minister of the Viceroy of Naples, which helped to prevent its execution; possibly also the death of Isabella, in November of that year, had something to do with the respite. At any rate, the British Museum deed shows with what unrelenting resolution the Catholic monarchs pursued their policy of freeing Spanish soil from the contamination of Jewish belief. The other documents interesting in this connection at the great storehouse at Bloomsbury, are mainly in Portuguese, and deal chiefly with the New Christians.

THE ESCURIAL.

On my way to Simancas, I thought it worth while to stop for the afternoon at the grand but gloomy palace of Philip II., known as the Escurial. It was scarcely likely that documents of historic interest would be found there, but it seemed worth while trying. But searching was rendered peculiarly difficult by the chaotic condition of the catalogues of the Escurial Library. All, therefore, I was able to obtain were the descriptive slips of a few treatises in Latin and Castilian relating rather to Spanish Jewish literature than to Spanish Jewish history. A Spanish translation of Kimchi on Isaiah (1248) and of Ibn Ezra on astrology (1251) were perhaps the chief of these, and an interesting and long account of the disputation at Tortosa, with a fine copy of Raymundus' *Pugio Fidei* (1249), were the two others that deserve most notice. The latter, so far as I can ascertain, did not contain the Hebrew quotations which give it its chief value. I fear my list adds but little to the information about the treatises of the Escurial, already contained in De Castro. I may add that I made no attempt to look at the Hebrew codices which have already been

investigated by the competent hands of Dr. Neubauer and Don Fernandez y Gonzalez.

MADRID.

Biblioteca Nationale.—The National Library at Madrid contains a fair amount of material for Spanish Jewish history, chiefly in the form of transcripts of documents now or formerly at Toledo. A certain number of these relate to a question which much exercised the minds of the Spanish Heralds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Purity of blood of Spanish nobles from any taint of Judaism was a point to which great attention was given, and on which the Spanish archives bore considerable and curious evidence. In the sacred city of Toledo, for example, no New Christian could hold public office, and a list of persons thus deprived is given in one of the Madrid documents (1264). Three other documents deal with similar subjects (1272, 1326, 1327). The National Library contains a few Hebrew manuscripts of interest, as for example a Hebrew Euclid (1262), and a couple of astrological works translated from Arabic into Hebrew (1340, 1341). A number of Bulls of Popes on Jewish subjects exist in this library (1268, 1269, 1270, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1277, 1278, 1301, 1319, 1348). One document contains a list of fifty-eight writers who have written against the Jews. It would be interesting to see if any additions to Wolf's list, *Bibl. Rabb.*, II., could be obtained from this list (1267). But the chief treasure of the National Library, regarded from the present standpoint, is a volume marked D.d. 108. This contains over thirty documents relating to the Jews of Spain, mainly to those of Toledo, and giving full account of their relations to the archbishop. It contains the *Padron* or list of all the Aljamas of Castile and Aragon as given in Amador de los Rios, II., pp. 531-52, with some important variations which I have given in a supplement. It is curious to find the king nominating as

chief Rabbi of Castile, the physician of the Archbishop of Toledo (1293). The archbishop himself nominated the Rabbi of Alcalá de Henares (1296). Another curious document is that which deals with the discussion between the Jewry of Seville and the archdeacon of that town. A couple of documents relate to the Expulsion of 1492 and the measures to be taken by the Jews in settling their affairs (1303, 1304). Information is to be found, too, at Madrid as to the badge of the Jews (1269, 1270, 1275). A very early document deals with the annual payment by Jews to the Archbishop of Toledo in 1219 (1265). Prohibitions against the Talmud also occur here (1278, 1301). Evidence is given of several synagogues that were dismantled in the fateful years, 1395, 1396 (1297, 1317, 1318). One of the most precious records retained in this Library is a full and illustrated description of the Toledo Synagogue, made by Fra Perez Bayer in 1752. This gives the inscriptions on the walls, a beautiful elevation and plan of "El Transito," and an exquisite drawing of the interior, *i.e.* the altar, wall. The Royal Academy History of Madrid has wisely had a copy of the volume made; but it would be highly desirable that the drawings at any rate should be permanently reproduced. Altogether, the Madrid collection, though small, is very varied in contents, and touches upon almost the whole ground of the subject, including even the documents relating to the Inquisition (1342).

El Museo.—One of the Sundays spent in Madrid, when I could not have access to any of the libraries, was naturally utilised for a visit to the magnificent National Gallery of that city, known as "El Museo." This turned out to be not without fruit for my special studies, for two of the pictures dealt with scenes from the Inquisition. The earlier one, attributed to Berruguete, and dated of the fifteenth century, gives a curious representation of an "Auto-da-fé," presided over by San Domingo de Guzman. The picture gave full and realistic details of the actual

process adopted in the burning of heretics. One of the victims had marked Jewish features. The other picture, by Francisco Rizzi (1350), gave an "Auto-da-fé" two hundred years later, at Madrid, in 1680. It gives, with great vigour and full detail, the elaborate ceremonial gone through in the condemnation of the San Benitos. Here, with greater art, and possibly more feeling of humanity, the final act of execution is supposed to be transacted behind the scenes.

Royal Academy of History.—I was unfortunate in not being able to obtain anything for my immediate purposes among the original manuscript treasures belonging to the Royal Academy of History. All the cartularies and deeds belonging to the monasteries of Spain have been handed over to this august body; but no full catalogue has yet been made of these, and it was impossible, therefore, for me to ascertain how far they contained anything relating to the transactions of the Jews, which must have been considerable, with the various monasteries of the Iberian Peninsula. Among the deeds, however, of the Royal Academy, there were thirteen Arabic ones, transcribed in Hebrew characters, that dealt with various deeds of sale at Toledo during the years 1233-1255. We may hope, I believe, to have a full account of these from the competent hands of Don Fernandez y Gonzales. I may, perhaps, here give a few details of which I took rough notes.

The deeds ranged in date from 5005 to 5043, that would be 1245-93. I took down, in most cases where they were legible, the names of the signatories as follows:—

(1)—Tebeth, 5043: Moses ben Chainiz, Jacob Chasan ben Isaac.

(2)—5009: Don Jucef Abudarhan, Israel ben Isaac, Joseph Chasan ben Moses Chasan, Israel ben Isaac, Ephraim ben Isaac, Joseph ben Abraham, Abraham ben Jehuda, Shoshan ben Shemtob.

(3.)—Has been published by Don Fernandez y Gonzalez.

(4.)—4993 (?): Joseph ben Moses Chasan, Jehuda ben David.

(5.)—Tebeth, 5043: Jacob Chasan ben Isaac, Moses ben Chinaz, Joseph ben Samuel.

(6.)—5005: Joseph ben Abraham, Solomon Chasan ben Chayim, Joseph Chasan ben Moses Chasan, Jacob ben Isaac.

(7.)—5005 (?): Jehuda ben Abraham, Moses Chasan ben Joseph, Abraham Chasan ben Joseph.

(8.)—Adar, 5040: Joseph ben Samuel, Jehuda ben Abraham, Samuel ben Chaya.

(9.)—Tebeth, 5043: Solomon Cohen ben Joseph, Moses Chaya, Jacob ben Isaac.

(10.)—Tebeth, 5015: Isaac ben Abraham, Abraham ben Solomon, Solomon ben Abraham, Abraham ben Isaac, Shoshan ben Shemtob.

(11.)—Shebat, 5032: Jehuda ben Abraham, Samuel ben Chaya, Jacob ben Isaac, Abraham ben Moses, Joseph ben Samuel.

(12.)—Tebeth, 5043: Jacob ben Isaac, Solomon ben Yussuf, Yussuf ben Samuel.

(13.)—Abraham ben Moses, Jehuda ben Abraham, Samuel ben Chaiya, Jacob ben Isaac, Shoshan ben Shemtob, Yussuf ben Samuel, Isaac ben Albatiel.

(14.)—Tebeth, 5043: Jacob ben Isaac, Moses ben Chaiya, Yussuf ben Samuel.

It will be observed that Nos. 1, 5, 9, 12, 14 are of the same date, and probably refer to the same transaction or series of transactions.

MANRESA.

I had been anxious to stop at Manresa, to investigate personally the “Libros de Judios” which are known to

exist in the municipal archives of that town ; but, unfortunately, I had not time to spare for this purpose, and, for once in a way, determined to depend upon external assistance. I therefore commissioned Don Eduardo Tamaro, of Barcelona, to proceed to Manresa, and report to me on the contents of these books. I have appended his report to my own calendar. This gives a few specimens of the deeds given in the " *Libros de Judíos*," and a number of the names of the Manresan Jews in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

PAMPLONA.

The ancient capital of Spanish Navarre presents many anomalies. Itself a mediæval town surrounded by a wall, it was already at the time of my visit entirely lit by electricity. The old royal archives of Navarre seem to be now in the possession of the Municipality, so that, though the Archivario was absent, I was enabled by the courtesy of the town clerk to examine the catalogue of the records, and here and there to dip into the records themselves. These are really splendidly preserved and admirably catalogued, so that, much to my surprise and pleasure, I was enabled to bring back, as the result of four days' hard work, what was practically a complete history of the Jews of Navarre, at any rate, in their relation to the royal treasury. I was enabled to do this owing to the very thorough way in which the *Archivos de Comptos* had been catalogued by the former Archivario. He had given, in twenty-six folio volumes, each containing some 500 pages, full and detailed accounts of over 60,000 documents ranging from 1042 to 1498. In the four days at my disposal at Pamplona, I managed to go roughly through these twenty-six volumes and extract most of the items relating to the Jews. It is possible that other sets of documents besides those of the Treasury have been equally fully calendared, but owing to the absence of the present Archivario I was unable to

come across any such calendar; as it was, the second manuscript volume of the calendar of the *Archivos de Comptos* was missing, and my collections were so far incomplete; by a lucky chance, however, it turned out that most of the documents referred to by Yanguas in his *Diccionario de Andeguedades de Navarra* were those described in the missing volume, so that between my list and Yanguas's items the expert in Spanish Jewish history has before him a key to the whole history of the Jews in Navarre.

Though the deeds calendared at Pamplona were mainly concerned with the Treasury, yet they ranged over almost all aspects of Jewish life. We may indeed almost draw up from the documents, as we did from those of Barcelona, a Code of Jewish Law and Custom in Navarre.

Before proceeding, however, to give such a Code, I may draw attention to various matters of special interest, which do not admit of being put into such a form. The Pamplona documents give curious and extended information as to the wide range of the occupations of the Jews in Navarre. The following tabulated list will illustrate this statement:—

Bullion merchants	...	...	1564, 1623, 1630.
Carriage dealers	...	...	1439.
Clerk of the Treasury	...	...	1669.
Cloth merchants	...	1415, 1438, 1441, 1498, 1505, 1560a, 1598, 1562, 1639, 1640, 1647, 1655.	
Corn dealer	...	...	1405.
Fur merchants	...	...	1567, 1571.
Horse dealers	...	1437, 1548, 1549.	
Leather merchant	...	...	1498.
Lion tamer	...	1502, 1512, 1529, 1594.	
Money changers	...	...	1483, 1485.
Mule sellers	...	1507, 1528 (bis), 1586, 1599, 1619, 1620, 1624 (bis), 1627, 1628, 1685.	

Physician	...	1495, 1596, 1611, 1616, 1617	
			1638, 1657
Silk merchant	...	...	1560 b.
Spice merchants	...	...	1473, 1503.
Surgeon	...	...	1519.
Tailor	...	...	1527, 1560.
Timber merchant	...	...	1430, 1575.
Upholsterer	...	...	1556.
Wine merchant	...	...	1667, 1668.

One of the most interesting items under this head is that relating to Juze Zayel, the keeper of the king's lion, of whom Dr. Kayserling has recently given an account in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*. It seems that he was followed in his office by another Jew, Abran Aron (1594).¹ The many royal physicians will also attract attention, and the career of the chief of them, Juze Orabuena, can be followed throughout the entries relating to his name. Other names of Jewish physicians are:—Sallaman Gateymos (1596), Maestre Aron (1611), Abraham Cominto (1616), Jacob Abozar, Maestre Vidal, and Samuel Alfaqui. There is much evidence of the great influence of Orabuena at Court, and there are many entries referring to his pension.² It was interesting to find him recognised as a Chief Rabbi of Aragon, and still more interesting to find him allowed to appoint his son as a sort of Delegate Chief Rabbi (1605). A modern parallel will doubtless occur to most readers.

The career of Ezmil de Ablitas can also be followed through many entries. Dr. Kayserling has already drawn attention to the importance of this great merchant prince in his *Juden in Navarra* (pp. 53 seq.). But my calendar contains much fuller information as to the large windfall which came to the Treasury of Navarre by the confisca-

¹ Amador de los Rios also refers to this subject. *Tom. II.*

² 1513, 1519, 1521, 1543, 1547, 1551, 1571, 1581, 1587, 1601.

tion of his goods.¹ Similarly the financial career of Judas Levi, also mentioned by Dr. Kayserling, has full justice done to it in my extracts.

Two very interesting deeds deal with a hitherto unknown incident in the life of Chasdai Crescas, the chief Jewish master of Spinoza. It was known from Jewish sources that Joseph Orabuena was in correspondence with Crescas (Kayserling, *l.c.*, page 89). But the two deeds to which I refer, show that Crescas actually visited Orabuena, 1401-2, and what is more, that he did so at the request of Charles III. of Navarre. The king paid Orabuena the expenses he had incurred in entertaining Crescas (1570), and another Jew for Crescas's travelling expenses while on the king's service to Sanguesa, Egea, and other Navarrene towns (1574). In the latter documents he is described as "Maestre Azday, Rab de los Judios de Zaragoza." It will thus be seen that my researches have shown that Crescas enjoyed the favour of the King of Aragon and also that of the King of Navarre.

Several entries were of particular interest to me as connecting together the History of England with that of the Jews of Navarre. One of these relates to an after effect of the invasion of Castile by John of Gaunt in 1386. His troops, by seizing grain on the passage through Navarre, caused a great loss to the Jewish farmers of taxes, and the king remitted a considerable portion of his dues in consideration of this loss (1523).

Another relates to a donation to a Jewish surgeon, Samuel Alfaqui, on account of his having cured Sir Thomas Trivet (1519). There are many entries which seem to show that the Jews had large connections with the wool and cloth trade of England. Reference is made to "cloth of London" (1565), and of Bristol, spelt "Vristol" (1639,

¹ 1409, 1410, 1412, 1414, 1416 (a single indebtedness to the king of £53,000), 1417 (£3,000 of the queen), 1422, 1424 (£16,000 of the queen-mother), 1427, 1448.

1647), while Orabuena, on behalf of the Jews, has to settle with Messrs. Cella and Co. for cloth from England (1573). It was possibly from this source that Jewish converts were clothed at the expense of the king (1539). Reverting to the occupations of the Jews, many of the entries give details from which the prices of goods sold by the Jews can be ascertained.¹ One entry gives full details for a doctor's bill (1608).

A large number of documents are of course purely mercantile in character, but are not the less interesting on that account. Owing to their early date they give practically the beginnings of commercial book-keeping. Some are promissory notes (1404, 1405, 1407, 1411, 1427, 1442); others are receipts;² others drafts on Treasury in favour of Jews.³ Some, again, are credit notes.⁴ Some documents contain whole budgets of transactions relating to Jews, corresponding to modern ledger accounts.⁵ In four instances (1404, 1471, 1519, 1549) it is explicitly mentioned that the documents are accompanied by Starrs in Hebrew; but I have little doubt that this number could be largely supplemented by more careful scrutiny of the deeds, and even in the few that I had out, there were many Hebrew signatures. The entries were remarkably free from references to Jewish criminality; half a dozen entries would exhaust the list (1401, 1408, 1414, 1417a, 1514, 1516, 1544). One entry suggested Greece or Australia rather than Spain. In this, Juan Garcia was condemned for seizing Juze Ahaen (Hacohen), the Jew of Pamplona, and

¹ 1503; 1507 (a mule, £70); 1515 (damask, 42 florins a piece); 1586 (black mule, £84); 1624 (rouncy, 75 florins); 1627; 1639 (crape mantle, £3); 1640, 1647, 1669.

² 1437, 1451, 1472, 1475, 1476, 1478, 1540, 1585.

³ 1450, 1504, 1505, 1515, 1516, 1524, 1568, 1586, 1597, 1619, 1641, 1642, 1644, 1645, 1651, 1656, 1671.

⁴ 1488, 1497, 1512, 1542, 1560, 1560a, 1565, 1570, 1591, 1598, 1602, 1615, 1621, 1637, 1643.

⁵ 1434, 1444, 1452, 1485, 1491, 1494, 1499, 1578, 1631, 1678, 1679.

holding him to ransom (1589). Many more points of interest occur in the documents, but I have perhaps already lingered too long over these details. I may now proceed to summarise the more general information contained in them in the form of a code.¹

PAMPLONA.

CONSTITUTION.

- (i.)—The Jewries of the kingdom of Navarre were divided into five Aljamas, 1525, 1557.
- (ii.)—There was a Grand Rabbi of all the Jews, named *Rub*, or *Rau*, 1568, 1571, 1573 ; he might have a delegate, 1605.
- (iii.)—The chief officials of the Jews were termed porter and bailiff, 1421 ; or bailiff alone (1460, 1518, 1520, 1663).
- (iv.)—Jews had to carry badge, 1388.
- (v.)—Jews were confined to special quarters of town, 1674, 1675.
- (vi.)—All Jews, except physicians and surgeons, had to keep within the Ghetto on Christian feasts, 1674.
- (vii.)—King could grant general right of residence, 1425.

RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES.

- (viii.)—King could grant to the Jews of one locality *fueros* of the Jews of another, 1382, 1386.
- (ix.)—Jews could farm royal mills, 1480, and buy royal houses, 1440.
- (x.)—Jews could rent vineyards, 1635.
- (xi.)—Jew could sell houses to another, 1638.
- (xii.)—Jews were not allowed to sell their property to Christians or Moors without licence of the king, 1458, 1459.
- (xiii.)—Property of Jews leaving the kingdom fell into the king's hands, 1436, 1461.
- (xiv.)—Jew could give his son power of attorney during his absence, 1592.

¹ It will, of course, be understood here, as in the case of Barcelona, that such a Code can have no claims to be complete, since many references to the "fueros" and other legal documents (many of which are translated by Lindo, in his *History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal*), would be necessary in order to give a complete picture of the constitutional position of the Jews in Navarre.

- (xv.)—King supported alien Jews in his service, 1626.
- (xvi.)—Alien Jews paid two per cent. for right of residence, 1447.
- (xvii.)—Jews could hold castles, 1553.
- (xviii.)—Jews' houses could be razed to build castle, 1658.
- (xix.)—King could give houses in the Jewry, 1519, 1607, 1652.
- (xx.)—Goods of a Christian who had murdered a Jew under safe-guard of king became escheated, 1588.

TAXATION OF JEWS.

- (xxi.)—Tax on Jewry could be farmed by a Jew, and amounted in 1385 to £12,000. 1494.
- (xxii.)—Jews of Navarre contributed one thousand florins to the coronation of the king, 1526.
- (xxiii.)—Jew tribute reduced to £7,000, 1578, 1580, 1609.
- (xxiv.)—Hearth tax was levied on Jews, 1457.
- (xxv.)—King levied tax on meat bought by Jews, 1547, 1584, 1629, 1646.
- (xxvi.)—Bread of Jews was taxed, 1629.
- (xxvii.)—Jews had to pay taxes for their houses and landed property, 1387.
- (xxviii.)—Jews contributed to war expenses, 1419, 1439, 1659.
- (xxix.)—Jews' property could be distrained for taxes, 1664.
- (xxx.)—Taxation of a single Jew might be remitted or lowered, 1516, 1552, 1554, 1555, 1566, 1609, 1619 (bis), 1620 (pass.), 1621 (bis), 1622, 1658, 1659, 1662, 1665.
- (xxxi.)—Taxation of Jews was sometimes remitted on account of their poverty, 1400, 1500, 1550, 1578, 1584, 1634, 1646.
- (xxxii.)—King remitted taxation to help towards rebuilding synagogue, 1569.
- (xxxiii.)—Taxation was remitted owing to Black Death, 1420.
- (xxxiv.)—King could pay by draft on Jew tax, 1456, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1470, 1471, 1485, 1496, 1501, 1511, 1522, 1568, 1632.
- (xxxv.)—King could grant to Christian ecclesiastical authorities taxes due from the Jews, 1395, 1432, 1606, 1676.
- (xxxvi.)—Right of taxing the Jews might be conferred by royal gift, 1454.

TAXATION BY JEWS.

- (xxxvii.)—Jews could be tax-gatherers, 1466, 1479, 1482, 1490, 1492, 1532, 1545, 1590, 1593, 1618, 1636, 1648.
- (xxxviii.)—Travelling expenses of Jewish tax-gatherers were repaid by the king, 1477, 1617.
- (xxxix.)—Pension was granted to Jew tax-gatherers, 1536.

(xli.)—King could withdraw part of pension, 1601.

(xli.)—Customs of Navarre were farmed for £54,000, 1531 ; or £72,000, 1533 ; or £60,000, 1541 ; or £50,000, 1561.

(xlii.)—Jew tax-gatherers taxing Jews higher than the king had, ordered were liable to be imprisoned, 1469.

JEWS AND DEBTORS.

(xlvi.)—Interest was granted at the rate of twenty per cent., 1407, 1427.

(xlii.)—Debtors of Jews might give them a lien on town dues, 1406.

(xli.)—King could remit debt to Jews, 1535, 1537.

(xlvi.)—King's writ issued for Jew to recover debt, 1563.

(xlvii.)—King's debt to others could be taken up by Jews, 1564.

(xlviii.)—Execution of Christians might be delayed till payment of debts to Jews, 1661.

(xlii.)—The king at the behest of the Pope could restore usury extracted from the debtors of the Jews, 1394.

FINES.

(l.)—King claimed twenty per cent. from the property of a deceased Jew, 1458, 1468, 1474, 1479, 1487.

(li.)—Punishment could be remitted on payment of fine, 1448, 1489, 1540, 1544, 1589.

(lii.)—A fine could be entirely remitted, 1449, 1628.

(liii.)—King claimed fines for offences against Jewish law, 1429.

(liv.)—Goods of condemned Jew escheated to king, 1614.

Libro de Fuegos.—A special volume of the Pamplona archives is devoted to a return made of the number of houses held by inhabitants of the chief cities in 1366. It is known as the *Libro de Fuegos* and was doubtless drawn up to facilitate the collection of a hearth tax. Under several towns the number of Jewish hearths are enumerated as follows:—Estella 75, Larraga 1, Falces 18, Peralta 10, Sanguesa 25, Tafalla 25, and Tudela 270. This gives important information as to the relative Jewish population of these towns at that date. In many cases the number of Jewish hearths is given in figures, but the actual names of the Jewish inhabitants are

left unrecorded. But in two cases, Estella and Sanguesa, these are given. I have copied out the lists and printed them in an appendix. They afford a useful contribution to the study of Jewish names, to which the great master, Zunz, devoted so much of his attention. We find at Estella for instance, the Spanish spelling of the Jewish family name Naamias. Immanuel appears under the curious form, Amaneiel. The Chasan of the community of Estella, one Levi by name, is recorded under the curious title of lave Azen. Isaiah is spelt in one place Azaia, in two others Azaya. One name, which is rather popular, is of somewhat fishy appearance, namely that of Maquerel. A good many of the names seem to refer to occupations, Zapattero, Alfaquin, Pintor, Oficial, Gabai, Marchant, Azen. Others again refer to the place of origin, Castillano, Calaorrano, de Langa, Alcalahorri, Alaman, de Torres, de Paris, de Niort.

SIMANCAS.

The archives at Simancas I found dealt chiefly with the national documents of Spain after the consolidation of the Spanish Monarchy in 1492. There was therefore very little which had direct relation with the immediate objects of my search, and my toilsome journey in a jolting butcher's cart, my only means of access, was practically fruitless. Here again, as at Alcalá de Henares, I was obliged to touch upon the Inquisition and its works. I found evidence of the solicitude with which the monarchs of Spain regarded the doings of the Marranos (1683, 1685, 1687, 1695). Beside these there were a number of documents relating to the Expulsion (1687-1694). One of these was merely a copy only of the Expulsion Order of 1492. I was given to understand that it was actually the original, and it can be readily understood with what eagerness I had the document out and gazed upon it, it soon became clear that it was simply a copy unprovided with a seal, and my enthusiasm quickly dis-

appeared on ascertaining this fact. I am sorry, however, that the scant time at my disposal prevented my going more carefully through the other documents relating to the Expulsion, which might possibly contain further evidence relating to the causes which led to this fatal procedure on the part of the Catholic Monarchs.

Besides the documents noted in my calendar, Simancas possesses a huge collection of materials relating to the Inquisition. 449 "secret packets," 1154 packets from twenty-three various seats of the Inquisition in Spain, 469 deeds connected with the Supreme Council, 1155 packets dealing with its correspondence, while no less than 993 cases are preserved at Simancas where "purity of blood" of the Spanish nobility was decided upon by the Inquisition. It is obvious that these pleadings contain a mass of evidence relating to the history of the Marranos in Spain.

An attempt has been made by the officials of Simancas to draw up an alphabetical list of the various names mentioned in this huge mass of papers. So far as I can ascertain, this has only as yet reached the letter B, and in the first two letters of the alphabet includes no less than 3450 names. It seems probable therefore that an enumeration dealing merely with the Simancas materials relating to the Inquisition, would give about 35,000 individuals as coming within the clutches of the Inquisition between the years 1492 and 1819, which seems the latest date mentioned in the papers at Simancas.

I may perhaps add that I was apparently the first professing Jew who had visited Simancas since the expulsion of 1492, and was regarded with some curiosity by the officials on that account. One of them mentioned with an air of mingled pride and secrecy that he was himself descended from Jewish ancestors.

TOLEDO.

I was hoping that the Cathedral Archives at Toledo

would have added considerably to my store: but after making arrangements for investigating them on the spot I was prevented from doing so on my arrival at the ecclesiastical Metropolis of Spain, by the unfortunate, but as I had reason to imagine, not altogether undesigned, absence of the librarian of the cathedral. Fortunately, however, the majority of the deeds I had calendared in Madrid were derived from the cathedral library by the great archivist Burriel, so the little plan of the librarian was not so successful as he may have wished. My journey was not however altogether fruitless, and I should have indeed been sorry to have missed the chance of visiting the Synagogue, now known as Santa Maria La Bianca, in which Jehudah Halevi probably worshipped.

Of the later and more elaborate synagogue, the finest building of its kind in existence, I was fortunate enough to obtain a sketch made for me on the spot by an American artist, Mr. Edgar Josslyn. This gave a view of the exterior of El Transito as it is now called which has never hitherto been figured, and I have had it reproduced in my forthcoming work. In a local museum of antiquities at Toledo, there are several tombstones with Hebrew inscriptions, which it would be interesting to compare further with those given in Rapoport's book אַבְנֵי זְכָרוֹן. Not having taken the precaution to bring a copy with me I was unable to do this. The inscriptions however, are, I believe to be published by that indefatigable antiquary Don Fidel Fita to whom Jewish History owes so much.

JOSEPH JACOBS.